

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

BIB-01 /088 W

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R 150815Z MAY 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0983

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0213

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: FIRST AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF  
SIXTH ROUND - MAY 13, 1975

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE FIRST AD HOC GROUP (AHG)  
MEETING OF THE SIXTH ROUND, ON MAY 13, 1975, DISCUSSION  
CENTERED ON TACTICS FOR THE CURRENT ROUND, WITH THE  
FOCUS ON THE DATA ISSUE. THE GROUP AGREED THAT POSSIBLE  
EASTERN WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE DATA SHOULD BE PROBED

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AT THE FIRST INFORMAL SESSION MAY 20, NOTED THAT

THE EAST MIGHT INSIST ON AGREEMENT CONCERNING FORCE DEFINITIONS AND PRINCIPLES BEFORE DISCUSSION OF ACTUAL NUMBERS, AND DECIDED TO EVALUATE EASTERN REACTIONS TO INITIAL ALLIED PROBES BEFORE SETTLING ON SPECIFIC TACTICS ON THE DATA ISSUE. AHG SAW LITTLE NEGOTIATING MILEAGE IN APRIL 16 NAC GUIDANCE CONCERNING LEGAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, AND CONCLUDED THAT THIS GUIDANCE COULD BE USED AS THE OCCASION AROSE. LUXEMBOURG REP CONFIRMED THAT ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO OMIT PREVIOUS "EXCEPT LUXEMBOURG" CLAUSE FROM "ALL-PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. AHG AGREED TO TAKE UP ISSUE OF REPRESENTATION AT INFORMALS AT MAY 23 MEETING. BELGIAN REP SAID AHG SHOULD CONSIDER THIS ISSUE ON ITS MERITS, BUT THERE WAS NO HURRY TO DO SO. CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER PLANS TO HOLD PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 16, FOLLOWING FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE ROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. DATA - AHG DISCUSSION OF TACTICS FOR THE SIXTH ROUND FOCUSED ON DATA ISSUE. US REP SAID WASHINGTON AGREES THAT WE SHOULD TEST SERIOUSNESS REPORTS THAT EAST WAS READY TO DISCUSS DATA; HE SUGGESTED INITIAL PROBE AT THE FIRST INFORMAL MEETING ON MAY 20. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) AGREED THAT INITIAL PROBE ON DATA SHOULD BE MADE AT INITIAL INFORMAL SESSION.

3. UK REP (ROSE) ALSO AGREED, BUT CAUTIONED THAT THE EAST WOULD TRY TO USE THIS ISSUE FOR ITS OWN, DIFFERENT PURPOSES AND PROBABLY WOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN AN UNDERSTANDING ON FORCE DEFINITIONS AND PRINCIPLES BEFORE ENTERING INTO ANY DATA DISCUSSION. THE WEST SHOULD STRESS THE NEED TO ESTABLISH THE FACTS, RATHER THAN SIMPLY THE PRINCIPLES, ABOUT WHICH THE TWO SIDES ARE NEGOTIATING. ROSE SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD USE THENINE EASTERN INTENTIONS ON DATA. THEREAFTER, THE ALLIES SHOULD REFLECT CAREFULLY ON NEXT STEPS. ROSE CONCLUDED THAT THE WEST NEEDED TO TAKE A CAREFUL, STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH ON DATA.

4. FRG REP (BEHREND) AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD RAISE DATA QUESTION AT NEXT INFORMAL. BEHREND ADDED THAT  
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WEST SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR CONTINGENCIES, SUCH AS EASTERN EFFORTS TO SET PRECONDITIONS, TO STRESS DEFINITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OVER FACTS, AND TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF DISCUSSION IN A WAY THAT COULD WEAKEN THE WESTERN POSITION. FRG REP SAID HE HAD BEEN IN WARSAW DURING RECESS AND HAD DISCUSSED MBFR AT LENGTH WITH NEW POLISH DEPUTY FONMIN KALUGA AND WITH POLISH REP STRULAK. KULAGA HAD TAKEN STANDARD EASTERN LINE THAT AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS OF

PRINCIPLE MUST PRECEDE DATA DISCUSSIONS. IN A SEPARATE TALK WITH STRULAK ON DATA ISSUES, THE POLISH REP STATED THAT IT WAS NOT JUST THE NUMBERS BUT THE IDEAS AND PRINCIPLES THAT WERE IMPORTANT. FRG REP CONCLUDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM THE EAST ON THE DATA ISSUE. (BEHRENDT ALSO INFORMED US BILATEALLY THAT KULAGA HAD TOLD HIM THAT THE ALLIED DEMAND FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS WAS THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECT OF THE ALLIED APPROACH FOR THE EAST. KULAGA EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT VIETNAM EVENTS WOULD HAVE SOME EFFECT ON THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS).

5. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) ALSO AGREED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD RAISE DATA QUESTION AT NEXT INFORMAL, BUT CAUTIONED THAT EAST PROBABLY WOULD DEMAND DISCUSSION OF DATA CONCERNING AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, AND ARMAMENTS, AS WELL AS GROUND FORCES. CAGIATI THOUGHT THIS COULD PRESENT ALLIES WITH A DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

6. US REP SAID CAGIATI HAD RAISED AN IMPORTANT ISSUE AND EXPRESSED VIEW THAT DATA DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST SHOULD BE KEPT TO MANPOWER, NOT ARMAMENTS, AND THUS STAY WITHIN EXISTING NAC GUIDANCE. UK REP SAID HE HOPED ALLIES COULD FOLLOW US REP'S ADVICE, BUT POINTED OUT THAT THE WEST COULD HARDLY AVOID DISCUSSING TANK FIGURES IF THAT SUBJECT CAME UP, SINCE THE ALLIES HAD ALREADY GIVEN THEIR OVERALL NUMBERS FOR TANKS ON BOTH SIDES TO THE EAST. ROSE POINTED OUT THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT INDICATIONS AT THE END OF THE LAST ROUND THAT THE EAST MIGHT BE CHANGING ITS POSITION ON DATA EXCHANGE WAS WHEN SOVIET DELOFF COL. KAPITONOV HAD CHALLENGED WESTERN FIGURES FOR EASTERN TANKS AND HAD OFFERED TO "PROVE" THAT THOSE FIGURES WERE INCORRECT (MBFR VIENNA A-62). NETHERLANDS REP  
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(DE VOS) AGREED WITH ROSE THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE IN A WEAK POSITION IF THEY DECLINED TO DISCUSS TANK NUMBERS AT THIS STAGE. DE VOS ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT EAST WOULD EXPLOIT TO THE FULL THE PUBLIC RELATIONS POTENTIAL OF ALLIED REFUSAL OF OR PRECONDITIONS CONCERNING DATA DISCUSSION.

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0984

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USNMR SHAPE

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0213

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE

7. CHAIRMAN (DANISH REP TILLISCH) SUMMED UP AHG CONSENSUS THAT EASTERN INTENTIONS ON DATA DISCUSSION SHOULD BE PROBED AT MAY 20 INFORMAL, WITH AHG CONSIDERATION OF NEXT STEPS ON DATA TO COME THEREAFTER.

8. COLLECTIVE CEILING GUIDANCE - UK REP SAID HE WAS SOMEWHAT DISAPPOINTED BY APRIL 16 NAC GUIDANCE ON LEGAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, SINCE AS IT HAD FINALLY EMERGED, THE GUIDANCE CONTAINED LITTLE THAT WAS LIKELY TO BE OF INTEREST TO THE EAST.

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ROSE THOUGHT AHG SHOULD NOTE GUIDANCE AND USE NEW POINTS IN IT IF OCCASION PERMITS, BUT SAW NO NEW NEGOTIATING MILEAGE IN THE GUIDANCE. TURNING TO PARA A OF GUIDANCE

(USNATO 2040), UK REP SAID THIS PASSAGE PURPORTED TO BE REPETITION OF ALL-PARTICIPANTS FORMULA, BUT IN FACT WAS QUITE DIFFERENT AS IT STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THE US, WOULD BE WILLING TO REDUCE THEIR GROUND FORCES IN PHASE II. ROSE SAID THIS IMPLICATION REGARDING PHASE II US REDUCTIONS APPEARED TO BE THE RESULT OF HASTY DRAFTING SINCE THE EAST PREVIOUSLY HAD NEVER BEEN TOLD THAT THE US WOULD TAKE PHASE II REDUCTIONS. UK REP THOUGHT THE QUESTION OF PHASE II US REDUCTIONS WAS STILL OPEN, AND THAT, IN ANY CASE, THE WEST WOULD NOT WANT TO ANNOUNCE SUCH A POSITION TO THE EAST, IF AND WHEN IT HAD BECOME POLICY, IN THE MANNER PROVIDED BY THE APRIL 16 GUIDANCE.

9. US DEP REP NOTED THAT THE US IN FACT HAD TOLD NATO THAT IT WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE PHASE II REDUCTIONS, BUT ALSO CONFIRMED UK REP'S POINT THAT THE EAST HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THAT US POSITION AND THAT THE US DELEGATION DID NOT FAVOR ADVANCING THIS POSITION NOW. US DEP REP AGREED WITH UK REP'S SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING USE OF THE APRIL 16 NAC GUIDANCE. CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED AHG CONSENSUS ON THIS APPROACH.

10. LUXEMBOURG EXCEPTION - UK REP SAID THAT HIS SECOND PROBLEM WITH THE APRIL 16 NAC GUIDANCE WAS THE FOOTNOTE ON THE LUXEMBOURG EXCEPTION TO THE ALL-PARTICIPANTS FORMULA. DURING THE PREVIOUS ROUND, THE GROUP HAD DROPPED THIS EXCEPTION IN BOTH PLENARIES AND INFORMALS, WITH THE FULL AGREEMENT OF LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER). THE EAST HAD NOTED THIS SHIFT IN THE WESTERN POSITION AND HAD BEEN TOLD THAT IT WAS IN FACT A POLICY CHANGE. UK REP THOUGHT IT WOULD BE AWKWARD TO REINTRODUCE THE LUXEMBOURG EXCEPTION AT THIS STAGE.

11. LUXEMBOURG REP SAID HE BELIEVED THE FOOTNOTE ALSO WAS THE RESULT OF HASTY DRAFTING, SINCE HIS INSTRUCTIONS REMAINED CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL THAT THE LUXEMBOURG EXCEPTION  
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SHOULD NOT BE USED IN VIENNA IN ANY FORM. WINTER SAID THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO FACE AT A LATER POINT THE QUESTION OF WHETHER AND HOW MUCH LUXEMBOURG WOULD ACTUALLY REDUCE. THE AHG DECIDED THAT LUXEMBOURG EXCEPTION WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE USED IN ALLIED STATEMENTS.

12. REPRESENTATION AT INFORMAL MEETINGS - FRG REP RECALLED THE PRIOR AHG AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION AT INFORMALS EARLY IN THIS ROUND AND SUGGESTED MAY 23 FOR THAT DISCUSSION. BELGIAN REP EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR BEHREND'S

SUGGESTION AND SAID THAT WHILE HE WAS NOT IN A RUSH TO HAVE THIS ISSUE DISCUSSED, HE DID WANT THE AHG TO CONSIDER IT ON ITS MERITS, IN AN UNHURRIED MANNER AND AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME. THE GROUP AGREED TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION ON MAY 23.

13. EASTERN PRESS CONFERENCE - US DEP REP REPORTED THAT CZECHOSLOVAK REP MEISNER WOULD BE HOLDING A PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 16 FOLLOWING FIRST PLENARY MEETING OF THIS ROUND. IT WAS ANTICIPATED THAT MEISNER WOULD PROBABLY COVER THE SAME GROUND AS STURLAK HAD IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE MAY 16 FOLLOWING FIRST PLENARY MEETING OF THIS ROUND. IT WAS ANTICIPATED THAT MEISNER WOULD PROBABLY COVER THE SAME GROUND AS STRULAK HAD IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE END OF THE FIFTH ROUND AND WOULD STRESS THAT IT WAS NOW UP TO THE WEST TO MAKE SOME NEW MOVES. THEREFORE, US DEP REP THOUGHT IT WAS UNNECESSARY FOR THE ALLIES TO HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE OF THEIR OWN AT THIS TIME. US DEP REP RECALLED THAT GDR REP OESER ALSO HAD OPENED THE LAST ROUND WITH A ROUTINE PRESS CONFERENCE AND THAT THE ALLIES HAD NOT FOLLOWED SUIT. UK REP AGREED, BUT SAID THAT THE EAST MIGHT USE THE MEISNER PRESS CONFERENCE TO PUBLICIZE ITS ALLEGED WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS DATA. AHG DECIDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT HOLD THEIR OWN PRESS CONFERENCE BUT AGREED TO WORK UP CONTINGENCY GUIDANCE FOR NATO PRESS SPOKESMAN.RESOR

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